1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

551 On first thought it might be imagined that the application of the same name to so many people would cause great confusion. As a matter of fact, however, in a village of, say, 20 families, there could have been a maximum of only 40 having the same name. Taking into account deaths and departures, the number was greatly diminished. Moreover, as in general only relations or close friends were addressed in this way, strangers commonly being addressed by their nicknames, the seeming danger of confusion is almost entirely obviated. In those cases, however, in which confusion might result a nickname, or sometimes a clan name, was added to the birth name when speaking of an individual.

553 614 *Naming feast.*—The clan name was generally bestowed on a child at a special feast held for the purpose or at any feast that happened to be given within a reasonable time after its birth. The bestowal of the clan name was not infrequently delayed by a father's inability to gather the requisite amount of food to be presented to the old man who was to select the name. Occasionally it even happened that a father under such conditions permitted the relatives of his wife to bestow a name on a child, which of course was a name from its mother's clan. The author has personal knowledge of a case in which the first child of a man had a name belonging to his mother's clan while the other children had names belonging to their father's clan. When questioned, the man said that at the time of the birth of his eldest child he was too poor to pay for the honor of having his child receive a name and that he had allowed his wife's relatives to give it a name. When his other children were born, however, as he was in better condition financially he had been able to name them in the usual way. Although a child, irrespective of his individual name, always belonged to his father's clan, there seemed to exist a feeling that a person having a name not taken from his own clan was more or less incomplete. A person possessing no clan name was regarded as having low social standing.

When a child was adopted it retained its former birth name and clan name.

601 *Relationship terms.*—The system of relationship terms used by the Winnebago is as follows:[1]

MALE TERMS OF ADDRESS

Teok'a', p. and m. grandfather (direct address).
Hi'teok'ê, p. and m. grandfather and father-in-law.
K'u'nĭnk'a, p. and m. grandmother (direct address).
Hik'ârok'e, p. and m. grandmother and mother-in-law.
Dja'djĭ, father (direct address).

[1] Abbreviations: p., paternal; m., maternal; br., brother; s., sister.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

Hiko'nô, husband.
Hitcą'°, brother of wife.
Hitcą'°wi°, wife.
Hiwange', sister of wife.

After one's grandchild's generation the children of a man whom one called either Hi'niŋk' or Hitcû°ckê', or of a woman whom one called either Hi'nûŋk' or Hitcû°jô'ŋk', were all called Hitcû°ckê' or Hitcû°jô'ŋk'.

A special term, Wotcû'°wonk', was used by parents-in-law when addressing each other.

It will be noticed that, taking self as the starting point, the distinction between forms—one series to be used in speaking of a person and the other in directly addressing one's own blood relative has been developed for only grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, son, and daughter. It is probable that in former times brother and sister also were included in this double series.

Female Terms of Address

As compared with the distinction between male and female terms of address found among other Siouan tribes, that existing among the Winnebago is very weak and there seems to be no indication that it ever was much stronger, although caution must be observed in drawing inferences as to past relationship terms, since it is a well-known fact that they have a tendency to disappear. At the present time there are only four terms used among the Winnebago by women specifically; *teiło*, elder brother; *hitcê'ŋk'*, younger sister; *hiciga'°*, wife of brother; and *hicil°e'*, husband of sister.

A cursory examination shows that the following forms are linguistically related:

hini.	hinu.
hinŋk'.	hinuŋk.
hicikê'.	hiciga'°.
hitcû°ckê'.	hitcû°jô'ŋk' (teu°—gû'ak, obsolete) hitcû'°wi°.
hitcą°.	hitcą°wi°.
hitcû'ŋk'.	
hitcak'ą'ro (friend).	

It is clear that we are dealing here with a change of terminal vowel (from *i* to *u*; from *e* to *a*; from *a* to *u*), indicative of sex. In the form *hitcą°wi°*, *wi°* is undoubtedly identical with *-wi°*, meaning "female," found with all animal female names. Terminal *k'*, *k'e*, *ga*, is a suffix that may be related to the termination *k'e* found with so many animal names. We may perhaps say, then, that we have here only three stems, *hini*, *hicil'*, and *hitcû'°*. For a complete list of stems used in relationship terms there must now be added to these the following: *Hik'ą'ro—k'i hitcak—k'i'*, *hi-a'nic hi-u'ni*, *hiwi'ŋ—k'*, *wonic—k'i'*, *hinûŋgis*, *hide—k' hiwan—gi'*, *teiło*,

Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

601

Generation	Male	Female
5. Grandson's	Hitcû°ckê', hiniŋk',	Hitcû°jô'ŋk', hiuûŋk',
6. Great-grandson's	Hitcû°ckê', hiniŋk', (Hitcû°jô'ŋk')	Hitcû°jô'ŋk', hiuûŋk', (Hitcû°ckê';
7. Great-great-grandson's	(Hitcû°jô'ŋk')	(Hitcû°ckê';

For the first three generations no term is repeated except *hitcû°wi°*; for the fourth generation eight terms are repeated and two terms are added, *hiniŋk'* and *hi'nûŋk'*. After that all the terms are repeated and no new terms are added. Only three sets of terms are repeated for more than two generations—*hitcû°ckê'*, *hitcû°jô'ŋk hiauŋk'tce'k*, *waiske'tci*, and *hi'niŋk'*, *hi'nûŋk'*. After the fifth generation only one set of terms is used.

Distribution of all relationship terms[1] *occurring more than once.*—

Hi-uni'niŋk', wife of p. br.; m. sr.

Hi'ni, elder br.; son of p. br.; son of m. sr.

Hiuûŋk', younger br.; son of p. br.; son of m. sr.

Hi'nu, elder sr.; daughter of p. br.; daughter of m. sr.

Waitckê', younger sr.; daughter of p. br.; daughter of m. sr.

Hi'niŋk', son of elder br.; son of sr. (sister speaking).

Hi'nûŋk', daughter of elder br.; daughter of sr.

Hitcû°ckê', son of elder br.; son of daughter and son; son of br.; son of p. sr.

Hitcû°jô'ŋk', daughter of elder br.; daughter of daughter and son; daughter of p. sr.; daughter of br.

Hitcû'°wi°, p. sr.; daughter of m. br.; wife of son of m. sr.

Hitca'°, husbands of sisters; husband of p. sr.; husband of daughter of m. sr.

Hicigs'°, wife of br.; wife of son of br.

Hicik'e', husband of p. sr.; husband of daughter of br.

Joking Relationship[2]

602 A man was not permitted to take even the slightest liberties with any of his near relatives or with his mother-in-law or his father-in-law, but a curious exception to this rule was permitted for his father's sister's children (*hitcû°ckê'* and *hitcû°jô'ŋk'*); his mother's brother's children (*hitcû°ckê'* and *hitcû°jô'ŋk'*); his mother's brothers (*hide'k'*); and his sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law. In the two cases last named not only was a man permitted to joke with those relatives but he was supposed to do so whenever he had an opportunity. Under no circumstances were any of these individuals supposed to take offense. This relationship was of course reciprocal. If a person

[1] A more specific study of these relationship terms is reserved for a special article on Siouan Relationship Terms.

[2] The joking relationship was discovered among the Winnebago by the author. Since then it has been found to exist among the Crows and the Creeks, etc. [171]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

attempted liberties with people who did not belong in the category of the "joking relationship" they would stop him immediately, saying, "What joking relation am I to you" (*Djagu' nigk' ilajiligudja**)!

It is impossible to determine the significance of the "joking relationship." Two points of interest may be referred to, however: First, that it existed between a person and such close relatives as the children of his father's sister and his mother's brothers and their children, on the one hand, and his relatives by marriage only, as his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, on the other; and second, that his mother's brother was at the same time a person with whom he was on particularly intimate terms. With regard to the first point, the author suggests the following explanation: Both groups just mentioned had this in common—they did not belong to the man's clan and with the exception of their mother's brother they did not belong to any individuals but those of their own generation. Now we know [582] that the prohibition of marriage into a man's mother's clan extended only to members of her generation and that theoretically, at least, he could marry her brother's children. In the same way the children of a man's father's sister, belonging as they did to the side into which he had to marry and not belonging to the generation of his father, belonged also to the group into which he theoretically might marry. The author has never heard any Winnebago state that a man may not marry any of the individuals included in the "joking relationship," with the exception of his sister-in-law, but he feels certain that such marriage would be considered improper, although equally certain that it would not be regarded as incest, as would be the case if a person were to marry the son of his mother's sister or of his father's brother. The suggestion is offered, therefore, that the "joking relationship" implies, first, close relationship of individuals who have different clan membership, and, second, perhaps, the possibility of marriage. If there is any explanation for the existence of the relationship between a man and his mother's brother I feel that it is probably to be sought in the first of these suggestions. The second is really advanced merely to suggest some reason for the grouping together of blood relations with relations by marriage.

The "joking relationship" is very peculiar from the point of view of a European, and for that reason it is perhaps likely that we exaggerate its importance. In actual practice joking was probably indulged in only during the first moments after meeting, except by the habitual punster. An important psychological factor may have been the opportunity for relaxation it afforded an individual who was constantly surrounded by close relatives in intercourse with whom he had to observe at all times strict rules of propriety.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

867 787 If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement."

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me, for (you will need 867 medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate 789 enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the 726 warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

867 577 My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover[*] the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

867 525 My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

867 Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

---

[656] [*] This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing stock, plays an important rôle among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling as found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social extension. The despondency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences coming in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative aspect of the use of "fun-poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This "joking-relationship" exists among many tribes in America, but the relatives between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncle and niece and nephew and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

[602] [*] That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

taking their part, or that you love them if you talk merely about loving them. Show them that you love them by your actions. Let them see that you are generous with donations. In such attimes they will see your good work and then they will be able to judge for themselves whether your actions equal your words. 867 593 858

My daughter, do not show your love for other children so that strangers notice it. You may, of course, love other children, but love them with a different love from that which you bestow on your own children. The children of other people are different from your own children, and if you were to take them to some other place after you had been lavishing so much love upon them they would not act as your children would under the same circumstances. You can always depend upon your own children. They are of your own body. Love them, therefore. This is what our ancestors taught us to do.

If a wife has no real interest in her husband's welfare and possessions she will be to him no more than any other woman, and the world will ridicule her. If, on the other hand, you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, your parents will leave you. Let your husband likewise take care of your parents, for they depend on him. Your parents were instrumental in getting you your husband, so remember that they expect some recompense for it, as likewise for the fact that they raised you. 867 593

My daughter, the old people used to teach us never to hurt the feelings of our relatives. If you hurt their feelings, you will cause your brothers-in-law to feel ashamed of themselves. Do not ever wish for any other man but your husband. It is enough to have one husband. Do not let anyone have the right to call you a prostitute. [602 606 837]

Do not hit your relatives at any time. For if you did that or if you were on bad terms with one of them, it may chance that he will die, and then the people will say that you are glad that he is dead. Then, indeed, you will feel sad at heart and you will think to yourself, "What can I best do" (to make up for my conduct). Even if you were to give a Medicine Dance in his honor or donate gifts for the Four Nights' Wake, many people will still say, "She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him. Why does she act this way? She is wasting her wealth. (She really does not love him and therefore), and she ought not to spend so much money upon him now." Then, indeed, my daughter, will your heart ache; then, indeed, will you get angry. That is why the old people would tell their children to love one another. If you love a person and that person dies, then you will have a right to mourn for him, and everyone will think that your mourning is sincere. Not only will your own relatives love you, but everyone else will love you likewise. If, then, in the course of your life you 867 602 [765]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

867 come to a crisis of some kind, all these people will turn their hearts
●602 toward you.

My daughter, all that I am trying to tell you relates to your behavior (when you grow up). In your own home the women all understand the work belonging to the household and that relating to camping and hunting. If you understand these and afterwards visit your husband's relatives, you will know what to do and not find yourself in a dilemma from which you can not extricate yourself. When you visit your husband's people do not go around with a haughty air or act as if you considered yourself far above them. Try to get them to like you. If they like you, they will place you in charge of the camp you happen to be visiting. If you are good-
[606] natured, you will be placed in charge of the home at which you happen to be visiting. Then your parents-in-law will tell your husband that their daughter-in-law is acting nicely to them.

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO CHILDREN

867 Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: I still keep up the old system of teaching my children at the camp fire. In the morning I wake them up early and start to teach them as follows:

My children, as you travel along life's road never harm anyone, nor cause anyone to feel sad. On the contrary, if at any time you can make a person happy, do so. If at any time you meet a woman in the wilderness (i. e., away from your village), and if you are alone and no one can see you, do not scare her or harm her, but turn off to the right and let her pass. Then you will be less tempted to molest her.

My children, if you meet anyone on the road, even though it is only a child, speak a cheering word before you pass on. Fast as much as you can, so that when you grow up you can benefit your
[602] fellowmen. If you ever get married you must not sit around your lodge near your wife, but try and get game for your wife's people. So fast that you may be prepared for your life.

[593] My daughters, if at any time you get married, never let your husband ask for a thing twice. Do it as soon as he asks you. If your husband's folks ever ask their children for something when you are present, assume that they had asked it of you. If there is anything to be done, do not wait till you are asked to do it, but do it immediately. If you act in this way, then they will say that your parents taught you well.

My son, if you find nothing else to do, take an ax and chop down a tree. It will become useful some day. Then take a gun and go out hunting and try to get game for your family.

As soon as I see that the children are showing signs of restlessness then I stop immediately.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

614 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a
825 religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its
614 specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating ex-
825 ample of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war
778 bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent
[776] from the thunderbird and night-spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here
[773] the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.

614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the
[771] latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above, we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

THE CLAN TIE

614 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the
● 602 conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal.
[582] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

shown by the very word for clan (*hokik'aradjera*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and between the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcak'oro*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason at all is assigned. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a very general but a very definite notion, and may be said to extend not beyond four generations, in fact not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual. This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables, based on actual genealogies:

(F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1.
(F) Bear—Eagle (M) 2.
(F) Eagle—Wolf (M) 3.
(F) Wolf—Thunderbird (M) 4.
(M) Thunderbird—Bear (F) 5.

or:

(F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1.
(M) Bear—Eagle (F) 2.
(M) Bear—Thunderbird (F) 3.

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second, a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-unit is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

CLAN FUNCTIONS

The association of political functions with definite social units is a common phenomenon in most cultures where a tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connection, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

And a war-bundle owner for the second kettle should be called upon a kettle offered in connection with him whom we call Great Black Hawk. 796X 539X 782

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle placed for Disease-giver. 776

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the spirit whom they call South Wind.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the Sun.

Then they also select another man to be in charge of a kettle put on for the Morning Star.[93]

Then the first one who had been called upon for a kettle takes as many pieces of food as there are individuals in his band who eat with him. The second one who had been called upon also takes enough pieces (for his band). 796X 539X 262

Those who are going to eat the head have to wait.[94]

Then all took enough pieces to suffice for their band.

Then they (the attendants) put the pieces of meat in plates and cut them up into small portions. Now all are in readiness for the meal. Only some of those in the lodge are called upon to eat the head. The plate of the others is filled with ordinary cuts (of meat). As many men and women as are present, for that many do they cut up the pieces of meat evenly and place them in the plate.

Only warriors are head eaters. Not to warriors do they give common pieces. Women and men who are not warriors can not take part in this head eating. Only men can take part in the head eating. They would not permit women to eat the head. However, those of the feasters who were warriors and had brought home war trophies would speak a good word for the trophy bearers, their sisters, their neices, and their aunts,[95] and these would be allowed to sit in the midst of the head eaters. The sisters or the aunts, whatever women were allowed to sit among the head eaters, considered it a very great honor. Thus all were encouraged to do. [554 562] [602]

Now (the preparations being finished) all are waiting for the meal and the host gets up and speaks.[96]

"I greet you all. When it (the meat) gets into the plate, then it is the time to try to get the spirit's attention by singing. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you all." (Eating song.)

---

[93] In the first division of the ritual seven kettles are prepared; in the second division, four.

[94] The eating of the deer's head is the greatest honor that one can obtain in this ceremony, and only warriors are permitted to take part in it. [554 562]

[95] When a warrior returned from a successful war party with the first war honor, i. e., if he had counted coup first, he was given a wampum neckpiece, and this he presented to his oldest sister or to the daughters of his father's brother or mother's sister or to his mother's sister.

[96] This is the continuation of his speech that had been interrupted by the preparations for the meal [131]

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12

individual cultures. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest Coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves we find, in addition to the above, the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact that its members imitate the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reason at all for the name, while according to others an animal is killed and becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, the group taking its name from this fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

174
614
773
825

The Clan Tie.

In intimate relation to the attitude toward the clan animal is the conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the bond between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal. Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is brought out by the word for clan (*hokik'aradjɔra*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and that of the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcak'ɔra*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason is assigned at all. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a general but a very definite notion, and may be said not to extend beyond four generations, in fact, not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual.

602
614
582

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12

582 614 602 This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables, based on actual genealogies:

(F) Thunderbird—
(F) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(F) Eagle —Eagle (M) 2
(F) Wolf —Wolf (M) 3
(M) Thunderbird—Thunderbird (M) 4
—Bear (F) 5

or:

(F) Thunderbird—
(M) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(M) Bear —Eagle (F) 2
—Thunderbird (F) 3

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood-relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-complex is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL COMPLEX.

Clan Functions.

174 614 182 The association of political functions with definite social units is a common phenomenon for most cultures where a tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connexion, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual, is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual

867 593 858 You can, however, always depend upon the love of your own children because they are of your own body. Love them therefore.

867 593 If you do not have any real interest in your husband's welfare and affairs, then you will be to him like any other woman. People will ridicule you. On the other hand, if you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, if you listen to him more than to them, that will be equivalent to deserting them. Let your husband keep your parents and take good care of them for they depend upon him. Your parents saw to it that you married him and [583] they expect you to make some return for this as well as for the fact that they raised you.

867 [602] Do not hurt the feelings of your relatives, the old people used to say. If you hurt their feelings you will make your brothers-in-law feel ashamed of themselves on account of the evil things you say about them.

[837] Never desire to have any other man than your husband when you are married. Have only one husband. Do not give any one the right to call you a prostitute.

867 602 The old people said, "Never hit your relatives." You may be on bad terms with one of them, for instance, and he may die. Then people will say that you used to quarrel with the deceased when he was alive. They may even claim that you are overjoyed at his death, that you want to dance with joy. Then indeed will your heart be sore and you will think to yourself how best you can make amends. Even should you have a performance of the Medicine Dance given in his honor, if you wish to bury him with honor, even then people will say, "What does all this mean? She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him! She should not do such things. She is merely wasting her wealth. She need

7: Radin F-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

not have spent so much." Thus will people speak of you. 867
Then indeed will your heart ache to its very depths. Per- 602
haps you will even get angry when people say these things to you. It is to prevent this from happening that the old people used to say, "Love one another." If you have always loved a person then when he dies you will have the right to feel sorry. All your relatives will love you; indeed every one will love you. If you behave like a true woman you will be beloved by all and then if you meet with some crisis in life, all will turn their hearts to you in your trouble.

It will be good for you if you conduct yourself in the way I have just told you. That is what I wish you to do. In your own home you have doubtless been instructed in all the domestic work, your part in hunting, and in the work around the camp. If you learn about all these matters then some day when you visit your husband's relatives you will not find yourself in an embarrassing position from which you cannot extricate yourself. When you are visiting your husband's people do not walk around in a haughty [602] manner. Do not act as if you were far above them. Try to get them to like you. If they like you they will put you in charge of their camp.

Never think a home is yours unless you make one yourself. If you are living with people and have put them in charge of your household, do not behave as though the home were still yours.

[P 73]

The Effect of a Pretended Blessing

Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I visited the lodge of a relative of mine. There I found a woman whom I had the right to call niece and whom I could therefore tease. Just in jest I used to call her "mother" and "sister." Now on this particular occasion after food had been offered me, I began teasing her as usual when one of the women sitting around there said, "My younger brother, your niece is really in a condition to excite your compassion and not to fool with. She is in fact about to face death, for she is going to be confined soon and she generally manages barely to escape death then." "Oh, is that so?" answered I. "Well, elder sister, this time my niece is not going to suffer. Up above, in the heavens, there exist four women, sisters, and these blessed me, telling me that if I ever called upon them for help they would help me. Now to these I shall offer tobacco and when my niece is about to be delivered, she, too, must ask for help." Thus I spoke to her. The woman thanked me. I had told a terrible falsehood. I said all this because I was very hungry and I knew that I would then receive enough to appease my hunger. I had nothing else to say.

Some time after this I saw the women in town. The older woman ran over to me and said, "My younger brother, all is well. Your niece is in wonderful condition; she is very well indeed. She has just given birth to a child and within three days of its birth she was able to chop wood. Never before has such a thing happened to her. It is good. As soon as the annuity payment is made you may have the child's portion for drink.

159* 155 [203] [602] [845] [577] [657]